777 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you?
539 If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." Emam mese masámabo ava. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included
777 among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that
838 through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebaängon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those
777 which especially help one to marry or abduct women (bią̌ń e bǭm); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (bią̌ń e bame, bią̌ń a vōge), such as the great Anonacea
[824] Pachypodanthium confius Pierre, Engl. et D. (ntǔm I) and the Melastomacea Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntǔ'mǎ IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most
832 important and the most common are the love medicines (bią̌ń anduman). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (engǭ'nežǒk) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Malan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Malan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not translated/: two feast

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bə̄ngo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bə̄ngo bă bə̄lĕ oson = children have no sense of shame, and
834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
155 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (sŏ) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebi'n among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
836 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
838 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebŏbă'ne-bə̄'ngo (Ntum) or ebă'nebă'ne bə̄ngo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] rakes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dzĭ," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

839 [824] In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A proverb states:

[539]

o	kūe	ma	zā (sā[k])	ebôn	onú,
you	find	me	satisfying	vagina (with the)	finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

[196]

oa	bĕ́le	nkŭn,
you	have (the)	penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

838 We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "children." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bŏ pfiắŋga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bō ne bŏ́ŋgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bĕ́le nnēm e bŏ́ŋgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course,

838 to cast about for a protective covering to shield themselves from the attacks of those who are different, just as the hedgehog is protected by its covering of quills -- a covering on which the attackers would cut their mouths and their caustic tongues. Such a covering was supplied by medicine -- it is said that homosexual intercourse is a "wealth medicine" (biǎ̄n nkū'ma); see Volume II, page 23. This is the name applied to it in the following tale which was told to me.

838 539 [551] [825] There once was a man called bongo-be-ntuu-dumo (= boys -- which?) who had a daughter called akukebedanga who was very beautiful (the name allegedly came from akúk = Achatina marginata Sw. var. nigrofasciata Thiele, which is very beautiful, and from adǎ̄n = to surpass, because she was as unsurpassably beautiful as the Achatina snail; thus, if I understand it correctly, the name means "Achatina snail of unsurpassable beauty"). /272/

Now it happened one day that four young people met on the way to the village of Bongo (I shall thus abbreviate his name). They were all on their way to see the girl. They asked each other: "Whom are you going to see?" and each of them said: "Akukebedanga!" Then they conferred and agreed that they would go into the village together and wait to see whom the girl would love the most. The young people, who came from various families, were called (I place the abbreviation first):

Schok I, or by his full name he was called ź[k] bŏ ẑūa (explanation?);

Schok II, called ž[k] bŏ ngŏne makĕ makŏ, (ekĕkŏ), that is, Schok, bŏngŏne (unknown) I am going away to come back later (= I shall be gone for some time);

Schok III, z[k], bŏ kǎ jĕm bŏdzŏ melǎ̄n (1),
Schok -- of not knowing speeches bad,

1. Instead of: belǎ̄n.

that is, the Schok who speaks no evil, and

Schok IV, ź[k] bŏ nŭ'm e kūb b'ogbwā'le ba
Schok of: cock and francolin they
jĕm e kī'di ma lĕne.
know the mornings they begin.

838
539 The four suitors, then, came into the village where they introduced themselves to the girl's father, Bongo. The latter said: "Oh, why is it that four men are coming all at once -- there is after all only one girl! But let's see what we can do!" Then he led them into the house where they found the girl's mother. The latter likewise said: "Oh, -- four men! I know that hitherto this or that suitor has come, and if the girl loved him she slept with him, and if she did not love him he went back home! But now -- four men all at once!?" Thereupon the young men said: "Let us see whom the girl loves." Now the girl loved Schok IV, but the mother loved Schok III, while the girl's brother loved Schok II, and the father loved Schok I. When night fell, the strangers were led into the girl's house. She slept with Schok IV, and the others slept on the other beds. Now when Schok IV wanted to embrace the girl, one of the others shouted: "Oh, how lecherous this girl is; the very first night she gives herself to her lover!" Then the girl said to Schok IV: "Oh, how this person talks, desist, let's wait for another night!" When the others were sleeping, Schok IV asked the girl very softly: "Don't you want to marry me?" The girl consented to marry him, and they decided that they would both flee the next day (that is, in Pangwe, that the lover was to "kidnap" the girl); if someone /273/ were to see them, they would say they were going to bathe. Thus the next day Schok IV pretended to go bathing, and the girl followed him unnoticed. Both then went to the village of Schok IV.

When on the afternoon of the same day, both of them had not returned and it was evident that Schok IV had kidnapped the girl, Schok III went to the mother, who, as we saw, was fond of him, and reproached her most violently for the fact that the girl had fled. The mother replied: "Well, why am I to blame; I'm not in the girl's skin." Thereupon Schok III became furious, took a bush knife, struck at the woman, and killed her on the spot. Then he went home.

Schok I, who loved the father, turned to the latter, likewise reproached him strongly, and asked him how the girl had come to run away. In answer to this, the father said: "Oh, how am I to blame; if I were the girl I would not have acted so (Bongo's

838 539 feminine role seems to be hinted at with these words), but I am not in the girl's skin either, after all!" However, Schok I was not satisfied with this explanation. Thereupon the father went to the village of Schok IV, who had abducted his daughter, and demanded bride price from him. Schok IV accordingly paid this price. Bongo went back home with it and said to Schok I: "Here is all the money for the girl; I am paying you with it!" But Schok I said to him: "No, I don't want the money!" Thereupon the father took one of his wives and the money and wanted to offer all this to Schok I as compensation. But still Schok would have none of it. He said: "No, I don't want it -- rather (and this will be the compensation) we shall both always be together; when you urinate, I shall also urinate; when you defecate, I shall also defecate, when you sleep, I shall also sleep with you on the same bed (1)!"

1. The great declaration of love of the Pangwe corresponding to our: "Wherever you go, there I will go too!"

So, in fact, it turned out, and the two slept together. Finally, however, both contracted frambesia and died of it.

The last Schok, Schok II, who loved the brother, did the same thing with the latter as Schok I did with Bongo. As a substitute for the girl, he stayed with the brother, and the two slept together. But they, too, became sick, of leprosy, and died.

In this tale it is particularly striking that the sexually normal and abnormal have different fates. The normal Schok III gets away unpunished, even though he kills the wife of his host, who was to become his mother-in-law. The homosexuals Schok I and II receive a terrible punishment in the form of leprosy and frambesia for their intercourse.

838 [684] As we already know and as we have seen again here, the punishment for homosexual intercourse is usually leprosy, meted out by Ngi (or /274/ other cult spirits) as the guardian of purity. This is also the punishment for other immoral crimes, such as sexual intercourse during the day, and so forth.

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink," It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abŭm, a kū'e abŭm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tŭm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edŭm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adzăb, kernel = ngŏn-ebŏn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

587 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there
768 is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage
587 to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

838 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to
839 our knowledge, among the Fan.

548 Prostitution does not exist.

833 Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

596 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all
596 circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue
888 exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son